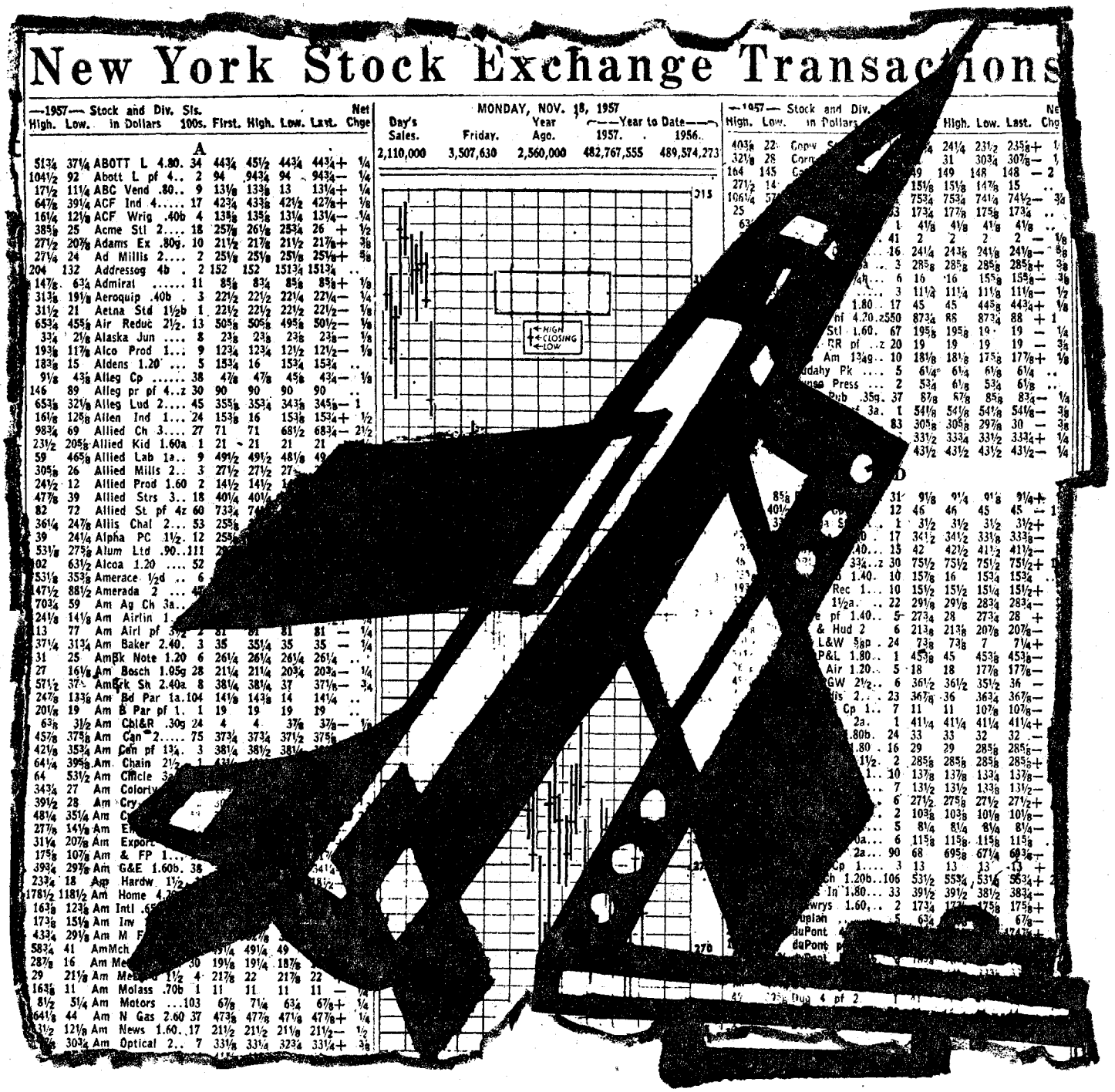
THE
NATION

NOVEMBER 30, 1957 . . 25c



New York Stock Exchange Transactions

MONDAY, NOV. 18, 1957

Day's Sales.	Friday.	Year Ago.	Year to Date 1957.	Year to Date 1956.
2,110,000	3,507,630	2,560,000	482,767,555	489,574,273

—1957— High. Low. | Stock and Div. in Dollars | Sls. 100s. | First. | High. | Low. | Last. | Net Chge

A

High.	Low.	Stock and Div. in Dollars	Sls. 100s.	First.	High.	Low.	Last.	Net Chge
51¾	37¼	ABOTT L 4.80.	34	44¾	45½	44¾	44¾+	¼
104½	92	Abott L pf 4..	2	94	94¾	94	94¾—	¼
17½	11¼	ABC Vend .80..	9	13⅛	13⅜	13	13¼+	¼
64⅞	39¼	ACF Ind 4.....	17	42¾	43⅜	42½	42⅞+	⅛
16¼	12⅛	ACF Wrig .40b	4	13⅜	13⅝	13¼	13¼—	¼
38⅝	25	Acme Stl 2....	18	25⅞	26⅛	25¾	26 +	½
27½	20⅞	Adams Ex .80g.	10	21½	21⅞	21½	21⅞+	⅜
27¼	24	Ad Millis 2....	2	25⅛	25⅛	25⅛	25⅛+	⅝
204	132	Addressog 4b .	2	152	152	151¾	151¾ ..	
14⅞	6¾	Admirat	11	8⅝	8¾	8⅝	8⅝+	⅛
31⅜	19⅛	Aeroquip .40b .	3	22½	22½	22¼	22¼—	¼
31½	21	Aetna Std 1½b	1	22½	22½	22½	22½—	⅛
65¾	45⅝	Air Reduc 2½.	13	50⅝	50⅝	49⅝	50½—	⅛
33¼	2⅛	Alaska Jun	8	2⅜	2⅜	2⅜	2⅜—	⅛
19⅜	11⅞	Alco Prod 1...	9	12¾	12¾	12½	12½—	⅛
18⅜	15	Aldens 1.20 ...	5	15¾	16	15¾	15¾ ..	
9⅛	4⅜	Alleg Cp	38	4⅞	4⅞	4⅝	4¾—	⅛
146	89	Alleg pr pf 4..z	30	90	90	90	90 ..	
65⅜	32⅛	Alleg Lud 2....	45	35⅝	35¾	34⅜	34⅝—	1
16⅛	12⅝	Allen Ind 1...	24	15⅜	16	15⅜	15¾+	½
98¾	69	Allied Ch 3....	27	71	71	68½	68¾—	2½
23½	20⅝	Allied Kid 1.60a	1	21	21	21	21	
59	46⅝	Allied Lab 1a..	9	49½	49½	48⅛	49	
30⅝	26	Allied Mills 2..	3	27½	27½	27		
24½	12	Allied Prod 1.60	2	14½	14½	1		
47⅞	39	Allied Strs 3..	18	40¼	40¼			
82	72	Allied St pf 4z	60	73¾	7			
36¼	24⅞	Allis Chal 2...	53	25⅝				
39	24¼	Alpha PC 1½..	12	25⅝				
53⅛	27⅝	Alum Ltd .90..	111	2				
02	63½	Alcoa 1.20	52					
53⅛	35⅜	Amerace ½d ..	6					
47½	88½	Amerada 2 ...	4					
70¾	59	Am Ag Ch 3a..						
24⅛	14⅛	Am Airlin 1..						
13	77	Am Airl pf 3½	2	81	81	81	81 —	¼
37¼	31¾	Am Baker 2.40.	3	35	35¼	35	35 —	¼
31	25	AmBk Note 1.20	6	26¼	26¼	26¼	26¼ ..	
27	16⅛	Am Bosch 1.05g	28	21¼	21¼	20¾	20¾—	¼
57½	37	AmBrk Sh 2.40a	8	38¼	38¼	37	37⅛—	¾
24⅞	13⅜	Am Bd Par 1a.104		14⅛	14⅜	14	14¼ ..	
20⅛	19	Am B Par pf 1.	1	19	19	19	19 ..	
6⅜	3½	Am Chl&R .30g	24	4	4	3⅞	3⅞—	⅛
45⅞	37⅝	Am Can 2.....	75	37¾	37¾	37½	37⅝	
42⅛	35¾	Am Can pf 1¾.	3	38⅛	38½	38¼		
64¼	39⅝	Am Chain 2½..	1	43¼				
64	53½	Am Cifcle 3...						
34¾	27	Am Colorty ..						
39½	28	Am Cry						
48¼	35¼	Am C						
27⅞	14⅛	Am E						
31¼	20⅞	Am Export ..						
17⅝	10⅞	Am & FP 1...						
39¾	29⅞	Am G&E 1.60b.	38					
23¾	18	Am Hardw 1½..						
178½	118½	Am Home 4..						
16⅜	12⅜	Am Intl .6						
17⅜	15⅛	Am Inv ..						
43¾	29⅛	Am M F						
58¾	41	AmMch ...			49¼	49¼	49	
28⅞	16	Am Me ...	30	19⅛	19¼	18⅞		
29	21⅛	Am Me 1½	4	21⅞	22	21⅞	22	
16⅜	11	Am Molass .70b	1	11	11	11	11 —	¼
8½	5¼	Am Motors ...103		6⅞	7¼	6¾	6⅞+	¼
64⅛	44	Am N Gas 2.60	37	47⅜	47⅞	47⅛	47⅞+	¼
31½	12⅛	Am News 1.60..	17	21½	21½	21⅛	21½—	½
⅞	30¾	Am Optical 2..	7	33⅛	33¼	32¾	33¼+	⅜

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High.	Low.	Stock and Div. in Dollars	Sls. 100s.	First.	High.	Low.	Last.	Net Chge
40⅜	22	Copy S			¼	24¼	23½	23⅝+	⅛
32⅛	28	Corn				31	30¾	30⅞—	⅛
164	145	G			49	149	148	148	— 2
27½	14					15⅛	15⅛	14⅞	15 ..
106¼	57					75¾	75¾	74¼	74½— ¾
25					3	17¾	17⅞	17⅝	17¾ ..
63					1	4⅛	4⅛	4⅛	4⅛ ..
					41	2	2	2	2 — ⅛
					16	24¼	24⅜	24⅛	24⅛— ⅝
					3	28⅝	28⅝	28⅝	28⅝+ ⅜
					6	16	16	15⅝	15⅝— ⅜
					3	11¼	11¼	11⅛	11⅛— ½
				1.80 .	17	45	45	44⅝	44¾+ ⅛
				nf 4.20.	2550	87¾	86	87¾	88 + 1
				Stl 1.60.	67	19⅝	19⅝	19	19 — ¼
				RR pf ..z	20	19	19	19	19 — ¾
				Am 1.40g..	10	18⅛	18⅛	17⅝	17⅞+ ⅛
				ddahy Pk	5	6¼	6¼	6⅛	6¼ ..
				nse Press ...	2	5¾	6⅛	5¾	6⅛ ..
				Pub .35g.	37	8⅞	8⅞	8⅝	8¾— ⅛
				3a.	1	54⅛	54⅛	54⅛	54⅛— ⅜
					83	30⅝	30⅝	29⅞	30 — ⅜
						33½	33¾	33½	33¾+ ⅛
						43½	43½	43½	43½— ¼
85⅛					31	9⅛	9¼	9⅛	9¼+
40¼					12	46	46	45	45 — 1
33					1	3½	3½	3½	3½+
				.0 .	17	34½	34½	33⅛	33⅜—
				.40...	15	42	42½	41½	41½—
				33¼..z	30	75½	75½	75½	75½+ 1
				1.40.	10	15⅞	16	15¾	15¾ ..
				Rec 1...	10	15½	15½	15¼	15½+
				1½a. ...	22	29⅛	29⅛	28¾	28¾—
				e pf 1.40..	5	27¾	28	27¾	28 +
				& Hud 2	6	21⅜	21⅜	20⅞	20⅞—
				L&W 5⅜p .	24	7⅜	7⅜	7	7¼+
				P&L 1.80..	1	45⅜	45	45⅜	45⅜—
				Air 1.20..	5	18	18	17⅞	17⅞—
				GW 2½..	6	36½	36½	35½	36 —
				lis 2...	23	36⅞	36	36¾	36⅞—
				Cp 1..	7	11	11	10⅞	10⅞—
				2a.	1	41¼	41¼	41¼	41¼+
				.80b.	24	33	33	32	32 —
				.80 .	16	29	29	28⅝	28⅝—
				1½.	2	28⅝	28⅝	28⅝	28⅝+
				1..	10	13⅞	13⅞	13¾	13⅞—
				..	7	13½	13½	13⅜	13½—
				.	6	27½	27⅝	27½	27½+
				.	2	10⅜	10⅜	10⅛	10⅛—
				..	5	8¼	8¼	8¼	8¼—
				a...	6	11⅝	11⅝	11⅝	11⅝ .
				2a...	90	68	69⅝	67¼	69⅜—
				Cp 1....	3	13	13	13	13 +
				h 1.20b..	106	53½	55¾	53⅛	55¾+ 2
				In 1.80...	33	39½	39½	38½	38¾—
				wrys 1.60,..	2	17¾	17	17⅝	17⅝+
				upian ..	5	6¾			6⅞—
				uPont ..					
				duPont p					
				Dug 4 pf 2					

The Airpower Lobby: SALESMEN IN UNIFORM . . *Al Toffler*

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LETTERS

The Basis of Progress

Dear Sirs: Professor Visscher's Science Needs a Living Wage (*The Nation*, November 9), with its overtones of the old Technocracy, reveals the need of the physical scientist for at least a smattering of social science. Consider the nostalgic confusions in the assertion that "This country needs statesmen who understand raw-material depletion, energy-source exhaustion and disappearance of peasant populations." These three should not have been linked because the peasant is both symptom and cause of static, low-productivity folkways. From the same issue of *The Nation*, p. 322, we read: "Where raw night soil is used . . . hookworm, liver fluke, intestinal fluke and blood fluke account for one-quarter of all Chinese deaths." To achieve prosperity and to conserve resources, both human and raw material, India, China, Russia, the Near East and Eastern Europe must drag their peasants out of the mud, off the manure pile and seat them on tractors and before lathes.

Also consider the assumptions behind Professor Visscher's assertion: ". . . Creative [technological] scholarship is actually the basis of our present prosperity and our future progress." This is the doctrine of the Great Engineer in the White House circa 1931.

MORRISON SHARP

Chicago, Illinois

Self-Auditors

Dear Sirs: The state audits banks periodically. Why should not the AFL-CIO employ union examiners who would regularly go over the books of affiliated unions—and perhaps review other aspects of union activity? Labor unions should be required to send financial, and perhaps other reports, to a central labor body.

The point is, labor should clean its own house. Unfortunately, nobody else can be entrusted with the job.

ARMAND LOWINGER

Brooklyn, N.Y.

"Crossroads Africa"

Dear Sirs: We would like to call to the attention of your readers "Crossroads Africa," a project at Occidental College (address: Los Angeles 41, California) which, under the direction of the Reverend James H. Robinson, will send forty American students from seventeen colleges to Africa next summer. Together, African and American students will work on such constructive projects as an experimental farm in Liberia and a water-sanitation system in Ghana. Mutual understanding and cooperation will undoubtedly further international understanding and mitigate the shame of Little Rock.

DENNIS POWERS
Occidental College

Los Angeles, California

Fall Books Issue

Dear Sirs: I can't refrain from telling you I thought the Fall Books issue (November 16) extraordinarily good. Rattray's piece on Pound seemed to me just right after so much slobbering in other media about poor Ezra in the clink; Herbert Gold on Kerouac seemed to me to say what needed saying in just the right way; Bellow on the university as villain struck a glancing note—I've long been griping about the symbolist English instructors—and Wilson, on mushrooms, interested and amused a long-standing mushroom-gatherer and eater like myself.

AUGUST DERLETH

Sauk City, Wisconsin

Unspeakable Crab Grass

Dear Sirs: Just read David Cort and his The Unspeakable Germ in your November 9 issue. His hero, Bulpitt, Cort reports, used sewage-fertilizer on an acre of land and nothing grew—not even crab grass. Pure partisan interpretation of research evidence! I have used Milwaukee's product for years, and I can testify that it grows damn good crab grass. Not much healthy lawn—but wonderfully sturdy crab grass.

CECILE TRACE

Evanston, Ill.

Music and Freedom

Dear Sirs: The faculty members of the Metropolitan Music School who, last April, were called before the un-American Activities Committee, conducted themselves admirably and did their part to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. However, the adverse publicity which accompanied the open hearings frightened many sponsors, instructors and students. As a result, the very existence of the school is threatened.

Our school has been functioning for over twenty years; its staff and student body have been interracial. Our faculty has included many outstanding American composers. We are determined to keep the institution alive and therefore appeal to all of you who believe in civil liberties and the free expression of the arts to join our struggle. Contributions may be sent to me at the Metropolitan Music School, 18 West 74th Street, New York 23.

WALLINGFORD RIEGGER
President Emeritus

New York City

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George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Dan Wakefield, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson.

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VOLUME 185, NUMBER 18
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1957

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

NATO: the Revolving Doors

A great deal has happened since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was set up—the death of Stalin, Suez, Hungary and revolutionary developments in the field of military technology—but we seem to be right back where we started. For the December 16 meeting in Paris, Mr. Dulles proposes merely a restatement of our 1949 position. In 1949 we wanted air bases; now we want sites for missile installations. In 1949 we would not negotiate with the Soviets because we held the trump cards; we will not negotiate now because the Soviets hold them. Dr. Wernher von Braun assures us that the basic reason we fell behind in the missile race is that six years were irretrievably lost (1945-1951); but these were the years when we fondly imagined that we had possession of the "ultimate weapon." Now we know better and are straining every nerve to catch up in the missile race, but still we will not negotiate.

But if the original NATO program was dangerous and provocative, the proposed restatement is even more so. Now we plan to build up nuclear stockpiles in Europe; to train special units in the use of nuclear weapons; to dictate the terms of the stockpiling and to supervise security measures; and, at the same time, to retain ultimate control. Such arrangements would greatly increase the possibilities of a war by accident. The Strategic Air Command was not a part of NATO; the proposed new arrangements would tie America's deterrent power more closely to European ground forces. Allied IRBMs could respond to a warning instantaneously, we are told, if they were fueled and their gyroscopes were warm. We are told, too, that field commanders will have the power to "shoot back" and an error in judgment could commit us to the use of the new weapons. If, as is now suggested, 200 IRBMs are installed in Europe within a year, the officers in charge of these installations will have at most fifteen minutes' warning of the approach of missiles from the East. Long-range radar is another recent, complex and not always reliable development; it is possible to mistake artifacts generated within the circuits or harmless flying objects for approaching missiles. The Russians, incidentally, will be in a better position than we to isolate their installations. And the chance of nuclear weapons being used, it should be noted, is greater as the number of nations holding them is increased. All in all, a disturbing vista.

But the major flaw in the American position is that we are proposing to repeat the original NATO pattern in a new and more dangerous form without having explored the possibility of a settlement with the Soviets or, indeed, without having attempted to sound them out on a settlement before the new NATO arrangements are negotiated. Worse, Mr. Dulles goes to Paris with a record, carefully documented recently by Chalmers M. Roberts (Washington *Post* and *Times Herald*, November 6), of having vetoed a long series of suggestions and opportunities for negotiations with the Soviets. "It has been no secret around Washington," writes Mr. Roberts, "that Dulles long has taken a dim view of negotiating with the Soviet Union . . . In short, Dulles was saying (in reference to a statement of October 16, 1957) it is impossible for the United States to reach any meaningful agreement with the Soviet Union." What Mr. Dulles proposes, therefore, is a resumption of the cold war on a more dangerous level and with unfavorable odds.

The Six-Billion-Dollar Spoof

Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor has proposed that six billion dollars should be added to the budget, on top of other proposed new defense projects, to develop an anti-missile missile. The proposal has a special if limited attractiveness: it is a relief to have one of the services emphasize defensive weapons for a change. But apart from the violent objections of the Air Force—which is out to control the entire missile-rockets program or else—there is another kind of caveat that should be entered. No sooner would the new weapon become "operational" than it would be countered by new developments in the missile field. Nowadays three years—the estimated time for development of an anti-missile missile—is an eternity. In fact, it is conceded that the Russians might be able to equip their ICBM with electronic counter-devices that would throw the anti-missile off the track. As one expert put it, the anti-missile missile "might be spoofed."

Who, then, is being "spoofed," if not the public? For it can be assumed that the missile that could "spoof" an anti-missile missile could in turn be spoofed by an anti-anti-missile missile and so on, world without end. The mad pursuit for "the ultimate weapon," as we have

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More Spoofing

Across the North American continent from the edge of the polar icecap to the Mexican border lies a vast and wondrously intricate system of aerial defenses. Built over a period of nine years at a cost of more than $18 billion, based upon radar networks within networks electronically tied to the most modern systems of detection and interception. . . . Now a whole new problem confronts the system. The cold fact: it cannot detect missiles.

TIME (November 25, 1957 p. 58)

pointed out before (The Missile Era, June 1, 1957) is only beginning. As long as we insist on pursuing the mirage of a perfect security system based on exclusive possession of "ultimate weapons," a sensible defense program cannot be organized. But more important is the fact that the arms race is itself a prime source of tension. The question still remains whether it is possible to concentrate so much of our energy on preparation for war and, at the same time, wage an effective campaign for peace.

Peace is a Sensitive Area

In the wake of Sputniks I and II, peace has again become a dirty word. Recently the New York Public Library withdrew its name from the list of credits for a WCBS-TV program entitled *The Faces of War,* which depicted war as horrible, wasteful and futile, because, in the words of its president, "long ago we found that in sensitive areas it is wisest for the Library not to take a position." The new trend, coming as it does so near to Thanksgiving and Christmas, is bound to be embarrassing. Sermons and editorials will, perforce, be marred by unsightly omissions and circumlocutions, such as, "The Prince of You-Know-What" or "_____ on Earth, Good Will to Men." Can it be, as Mr. Graham Hughes suggests (see p. 413), that we have lost a feeling for the value we most desperately need to affirm in an age of hydrogen bombs, namely, the sanctity of human life?

Farce in Caracas

With vivid fanfare, the Perez Jimenez dictatorship has announced that it intends to launch its own foreign-aid program; oil revenues will be used in lavish fashion to lift the living standards of neighboring peoples. Only a public as badly informed as we are about Latin-American affairs could be expected *not* to see through this transparent hoax, which has been featured on front pages from coast to coast. Perez Jimenez, of course, is trying to divert attention from the alleged "plebiscite" which he has scheduled for December 15.

A bit of background is essential. In 1952, a free election was held in Venezuela and, to the surprise of Perez Jimenez, the democratic opposition was overwhelmingly elected. The election was promptly voided and the dictator hand-picked a parliament from the list of *defeated* candidates. Now this parliament has approved a bill which calls for a plebiscite on December 15. If a majority vote approval of the dictatorship, no election will be held: what's the need of an election if a majority "approves" the government in power? That a majority will so vote is as certain as machine guns and tanks can make it. The press censorship is absolute.

This country has its largest Latin-American investments in Venezuela; U.S. corporations, with thousands of U.S. stockholders, draw their heaviest Latin-American dividends from there. But even if there is not much that this country wants to do or can do about the dictatorship that rules Venezuela like an army of occupation, there is no need to buy this "foreign aid" ballyhoo or to permit it to divert attention from the farce which will be enacted in Caracas on December 15.

Hard Fact for Mr. X

Mr. George F. Kennan got off to a good start in the first of the Reith Lectures in Britain (commemorating a former BBC chief). He conceded that Soviet economic progress, in the ten years which have intervened since his famous "Mr. X" statement on containment was published, had surpassed anything that he had then thought possible. In general his tone was conciliatory and tactful. But with the second lecture, Mr. X was back on the same old kick. In "the strange world of diplomacy" we might someday be forced to negotiate with the Russians; stranger things have happened. But "summit" talks are doomed to failure because of "the strangely corrupted mentality" of the Soviet leaders. Until this "corruption of thought" is corrected, that is, until events compel the Soviet leaders to see "world realities as we do," summit talks would be futile.

But the need for negotiations arises precisely because Russians and Americans see "world realities" differently. On the same day that Mr. Kennan spoke in London, Mr. James Reston was writing from Washington in *The New York Times*:

> The official view here is that the United States has a right to send all the arms it likes to an area that borders on the Soviet Union, but that the Soviet Union has no right to arm Syria. In fact, Washington does not recognize Moscow's right to participate in a Middle East settlement. But the hard fact is that the Soviet Union is in Middle East politics up to its eyes, and will either have to be brought into a settlement there or forced out.

Oddly enough, cold warriors of both the limited-war variety and the massive-retaliation school assume that the Russians are quite capable of judging our intentions and capabilities in a rational manner. "If we are willing

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to trust to reason as a restraint on the use of ready-made, ready-to-fire bombs," asks General Omar N. Bradley, why not seek an accord on the basis of a compromise which would banish nuclear warfare? How can massive retaliation deter aggression if the Russians are incapable of assessing "world realities" correctly? Whether we like it or not, the only alternative to trusting the Russians is to fight them. Recently Lester Pearson (at the University of Minnesota), Aneurin Bevan (at Harvard Law School) and Cyrus Eaton (in a statement published in the New York *Herald Tribune* based on Mr. Eaton's observations at the Pugwash Conference), have taken much the same position as General Bradley. These men are not "appeasers"; they are not naive. "There are situations in the world today," to quote Mr. Pearson, "which do not admit of any permanent solution which will bring stability, without Russian participation in, and at least acceptance of, that solution. We might as well admit that hard fact." So might Mr. X.

---

by FIDEL CASTRO

WHAT CUBA'S REBELS WANT

Fidel Castro leads the revolutionary 26th of July Movement against the Batista government from his stronghold in the Sierra Maestra, rugged mountain country of the province of Oriente. So far as The Nation's *editors are aware, this is the first clarification by Castro of his program to appear in the U.S. press. The original version appeared in Spanish in* Cuba Libre, *a Costa Rican publication of the 26th of July Movement, and was translated for* The Nation *by P. W. Murphy, a graduate student of Princeton University.*

Drawing by Berger

Oriente Province, Cuba

CUBA'S LAND situation, the problems of industrialization, living standards, unemployment, education and public health: these are the problems—along with the attainment of civil liberty and political democracy—to the solution of which the revolutionary 26th of July Movement directs its efforts.

This presentation may seem cold and theoretical to the reader, unless he is familiar with the fearful tragedy which our country is living through.

At least 85 per cent of Cuba's small-scale farmers rent their land, and face the constant threat of eviction. More than half of our best arable land is in foreign hands; in Oriente, the broadest province of Cuba, the lands of the United Fruit Company and of the West Indies Fruit Company unite our northern and southern shores. Throughout the country, 200,000 rural families are without a square foot of land on which they can support themselves; yet almost *ten million acres* of untouched arable land remain in the hands of powerful interests. Cuba is primarily an agricultural country. The rural areas were the cradle of our independence; the prosperity and greatness of our nation depend on a healthy and vigorous rural population, willing and able to till the soil, and on a state which protects and guides that population. If this is so, how can the present situation be allowed to continue?

Except for a few food-producing industries and some woodworking and textile plants, Cuba is essentially a producer of raw materials. She exports sugar and imports candy; she exports leather and imports shoes; she exports iron and imports plows. Everyone agrees that there is a great need to industrialize: that we lack metal, paper and chemical industries; that the techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry must be improved; that our food-producing industries must be expanded to meet the ruinous competition of European cheese, condensed milk, liquors and cooking oil, and of American canned foods; that we need a merchant fleet; that the tourist trade is a potential source of great income. But the possessors of capital keep the people bowed under ox-yokes, the state folds its arms, and industrialization will wait for kingdom come.

As bad, or worse, is the tragedy of our housing situation. There are about 200,000 huts and shacks in Cuba; 400,000 rural and urban families live crowded in slums without the barest necessities of sanitation. Some 2,200,000 Cubans pay rents which absorb from one-fifth to one-third of their incomes, and 2,800,000 of our rural and suburban population are without electricity. In this matter we are blocked in the same way: if the state proposes a reduction in rents, the proprietors threaten to paralyze construction; if the state does nothing, the owners build only so long as they can fore-

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see high rents. The electric-power monopoly acts the same way: it extends its lines only so far as it can visualize a good profit; beyond that point, what matters if the people live in the dark? The state folds its arms and the public remains without adequate housing or light.

Our educational system is a perfect complement to the situations just described. In a country in which the farmer is not master of his land, who wants agricultural schools? In our non-industrialized cities, who needs technical and industrial schools? All this follows the same absurd logic: since we have none of one thing, there is no need for the other. Any typical small European country boasts more than 200 technical and industrial-arts schools; in Cuba there are only six—and graduates go forth with their degrees only to find that there is no work for them. Less than half of our rural children of school age can attend school; and they go barefoot, ill-clothed and ill-fed. Often the teacher must buy the necessary school supplies out of his own salary.

Only death frees people from such poverty, and in this solution the state cooperates. More than 90 per cent of the children in our rural areas are infested with parasites which enter the body through bare feet. Society is greatly moved by the kidnapping or murder of a single child, but it remains criminally indifferent to the mass murder of our children through lack of proper care.

And when a father works only four months a year, as do some 500,000 sugar-workers, how can he afford medicine and proper clothing for his children? They will grow up with rickets; at thirty, will not have a sound tooth in their mouths; and having heard a million speeches, will die in poverty and disillusionment. Access to our always-crowded state hospitals is almost impossible without the recommendation of some politician, whose price is the vote of the sufferer and his family—a vote that insures the continuation of this evil.

In such conditions, is it surprising that from May to December we have more than a million unemployed, and that Cuba, with a population of 5,500,000, has more people unemployed than either France or Italy, whose populations exceed 40,000,000?

Program of the 26th of July Movement

(as stated by Cuba Libre, *bulletin published in Costa Rica by the Costa Rican Committee of Exiles and Sympathizers of the 26th of July Movement)*

1. Ownership of their land to be granted to all tenant farmers occupying parcels of fewer than 170 acres. The state will indemnify the former owners on the basis of the rents which the lands would draw in ten years.

2. Laborers and employees will be granted 30 per cent of the profits of all industrial, mercantile and mining enterprises, including sugar refineries. Enterprises which are exclusively agricultural would be exempted in consideration of the laws to be enacted dealing specifically with agriculture.

3. Sugar farmers to be granted the right to 55 per cent of the price of their cane ground in sugar mills, and a minimum quota of 500 tons will be awarded to all sugar farmers established more than three years. [This means that 500 tons of the sugar quota assigned Cuba by the International Sugar Council would have to come from the crops of small farmers, who usually depend on being able to help fill a quota only after the large plantations have sold their crops. Sugar mills normally prefer to deal with large-scale operators only. Typical recent crops have been of the order of five million tons.—*Translator.*]

4. Confiscation of the fortunes of the grafters and embezzlers in all previous governments, and from their assigns and heirs by means of special tribunals with full access to all sources of investigation; and the audit, for these purposes, of the books of all stock companies registered in the country or operating in it, and the soliciting from foreign governments the extradition of persons and the impounding of funds. Half of all funds recovered would be applied to social security, the other half to hospitals, asylums and settlement houses.

5. In international affairs, the establishment of close solidarity with the democratic nations of the American continents. Persons persecuted for political reasons by the tyrannies which oppress sister nations will find in Cuba generous asylum, brotherhood and bread.

6. The enactment of fundamental laws and measures necessary for agricultural and educational reform; the nationalization of the electric and telephone trusts, coupled with a return to the public treasury of all taxes owed by the companies now operating these services, as well as of all illegally excessive income they have garnered through their rates.

THE FUTURE of the country and the solution of its problems cannot continue to depend on the selfish desires of a dozen financiers, on the cold profit-and-loss calculations of a few magnates in air-conditioned offices. The country cannot continue to beg, on bended knee, for miracles from a few "golden calves." Cuba's problems will only be solved if we Cubans dedicate ourselves to fight for their solution with the same energy, integrity and patriotism our liberators invested in the country's foundation. They will not be solved by politicians who jabber unceasingly of "absolute freedom of enterprise," the sacred "law of supply and demand" and "guarantees of investment capital."

A revolutionary government, with the endorsement of the nation, would rid our institutions of corrupt and mercenary bureaucrats, and proceed immediately to the industrialization of the country—mobilizing all our idle capital, which amounts to more than 1.5 billion pesos, through the National Bank and the Bank for the Promotion of Agriculture and Industry. This great task of planning and administration must be put in the hands of men of absolute competence, who are completely outside the sphere of politics.

A revolutionary government, after installing as owners of their plots the 100,000 small farmers who now rent their land, would proceed to a final settlement of the land problem. First, it would establish—as the constitution requires—a maximum size for each type of agricultural holding, expropriating the

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excess acreage. Thus public lands stolen from the state would be recovered, marshes and swamplands drained, areas set aside for reforestation. Second, the revolutionary government would distribute the remainder of the expropriated lands to our rural families (giving preference to the largest), sponsor the formation of agricultural cooperatives for the joint use of expensive farm machinery and refrigerated storage facilities, and provide guidance, technical knowledge and equipment for the farmer.

A revolutionary government would resolve the housing problem by resolutely lowering rents by 50 per cent, exempting from taxation all houses occupied by their owners, tripling taxes on rented buildings, demolishing slums to make way for modern, many-storied buildings, and financing construction of dwellings throughout the island on an unprecedented scale. If the ideal in the country is that every family should own its parcel, the ideal in the city must be that every family lives in its own house or apartment.

WE HAVE sufficient stones and more than enough hands to create a decent residence for every family in Cuba. But if we continue to wait for miracles from the golden calves, a thousand years will pass and nothing will change.

Finally, a revolutionary government would proceed to the integral reform of our educational system.

Cuba can easily support a population three times what it is now. There is no reason, then, why misery should exist among its present inhabitants. The markets should be full of produce; the pantries of our homes should be well-stocked; every hand should be industriously at work. No, this is not inconceivable. What is inconceivable is that there should be men who will accept hunger while there is a square foot of land not sowed; what is inconceivable is that 30 per cent of our rural folk cannot sign their names and that 90 per cent know nothing of Cuban history; what is inconceivable is that the majority of our rural families live in conditions worse than those of the Indians whom Columbus found when he discovered "the most beautiful land that human eyes have seen."

THE AIRPOWER LOBBY

SALESMEN IN UNIFORM . . *by Al Toffler*

(First of Two Articles)

Washington, D.C.

ON A HOT DAY in mid-July this year, a man named Joseph F. Quilter climbed up the stone steps outside the Washington office of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Quilter had come all the way from Sunnyvale, California, to this small house around the corner from the Senate Office Building to discuss prospects for disarmament. Quilter went elsewhere, too. He was collecting, from all sources, the best possible estimates of the degree of disarmament, if any, which could be anticipated in the next ten to fifteen years.

Quilter is with the Product Planning Section, Missiles Division, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., and Lockheed has a right to be worried about disarmament. Since 1951, no year has passed in which less than 69 per cent of Lockheed's sales have been military. In some years the proportion has been as high as 92 per cent.

Quilter's trip here, in itself unimportant, symbolizes the understandable anxiety with which the aircraft industry — the nation's biggest employer — views any relaxation in international tensions.

Other evidences of this anxiety abound. Said the San Francisco *Chronicle* on June 30: "Aircraft stocks have been in a nosedive. . . Villains of the piece are the trend toward disarmament and the increasing competition from missiles."

By August, disarmament talks in London had cracked wide open. On Aug. 30, *The New York Times* reported "a spurt in demand for aircraft issues. . . . The renewed interest was attributed by some observers to Russia's flat rejection of the West's disarmament program. . . ."

Few (and the author is not among them) would urge that the United States disarm unilaterally as long as the Soviets remain strong and antagonistic. On the other hand, as the recently formed National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has pointed out eloquently:

> The test of a nation's right to survive today is measured not by the size of its bombs or the range of its missiles, but by the size and range of its concern for the human community as a whole. . . . The earth is too small for intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear bombs, and . . . the first order of business for the world is to bring both under control.

This is a large order of business and the Russians do not always make it easier of accomplishment. But under the Dulles regime we have deliberately by-passed several opportunities for at least partial disarmament. Disarmament need not depend on the good faith of Moscow. Negotiated properly, it can be made to depend on Moscow's self-interest as well as our own.

However, a climate has existed in Washington which made it almost inevitable that we would pass up the limited opportunities. If we are ever to move on to "the first order of business," this climate must be altered, and to be altered it must be understood. It is within this context that the amazingly frank remarks of former Secretary of De-

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AL TOFFLER, former labor reporter, is a newspaperman specializing in the Washington scene.

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fense Charles E. Wilson before the House Appropriations Committee last January 30 take on special significance. Wilson confessed that during his more "adventuresome" moods he has talked to his friends about the relationship of industry to the cold war.

> One of the serious things about this defense business [Wilson testified] is that so many Americans are getting a vested interest in it: properties, business, jobs, employment, votes, opportunities for promotion and advancement, bigger salaries for scientists and all that. It is a troublesome business.

Later Wilson observed that "If you try to change suddenly you get into trouble . . . . If you shut the whole business off now, you will have the state of California in trouble because such a big percentage of the aircraft industry is in California."

The vested interest of which Wilson speaks is no will-o'-the-wisp. It extends, of course, far beyond California and far beyond the aircraft industry. But this particular industry is something very special. An excrescence of the cold war itself, it has become the biggest single employer in the nation, with over 900,000 workers in its cavernous installations. Its member-firms, like Boeing Aircraft Corp., top the list of all defense contractors, in contrast to a traditional industrial giant like Mr. Wilson's own General Motors. During the Korean War, G.M. was the country's biggest war-materiel producer; today it has given ground to the aircraft and missile makers, having dropped to sixteenth place.

The political power exercised by the industry cannot be measured exclusively by the handful of giant firms which control it. The system of subcontracting gives the industry roots in thousands of communities over the nation — and each community thereby shares a vested interest in its continued well-being. In an article entitled Small Business and the Cold War, *The Nation* pointed out on June 30, last year:

> Fifty producers of airplanes, engines and component parts reported that they had negotiated 60,000 subcontracts. The geographic spread of these subcontracts is as significant as the number: nearly every Congressional district is represented.

In short, the vitality, growth, profit — the very life — of the aircraft industry, more than any other, is inextricably intertwined with United States military and foreign policy.

THE IMPORTANCE of this is twofold. The industry, with its insatiable needs and shrill propaganda, contributes significantly to the creation of the anti-disarmament climate. Secondly, even if disarmament is considered out of the question, as it is by many, then the influence of the aircraft industry still needs careful examination. For just as the industry has a vested interest in continued international tension, it also has a vested interest in particular military strategic concepts. These may, fortuitously, be correct; but of this there is no guarantee whatever. Whether or not one agrees with the charge that we have been disarming unilaterally, everyone ought to agree that military policies should be shaped by military needs and not by commercial considerations.

Yet the fact that the aircraft industry and the United States Air Force are partners in advocacy of a special strategic philosophy, i.e., almost total reliance on air power, creates powerful pressures that distort this basic premise.

The relationship between the aircraft-missile industry and the Air Force is quite different from that between other industries and their military customers. The Army, for example, buys billions of dollars worth of hardware, but the orders are widely distributed through the industrial community. The Navy may subsidize shipbuilders, but it also purchases a great deal from other scattered industrial sources, including the aircraft industry. But the Air Force, while it too needs uniforms, soap, hypodermic needles and milk, channels the overwhelming bulk of its procurement expenditures through the handful of large companies that dominate the aircraft industry. (See One-Customer Industry, *The Nation*, August 11, 1956.)

The relationship between these firms and the Air Force, therefore, "goes far beyond the normal business dealings of buyer and seller" — to quote the Aircraft Industries Association.

The Air Force and the industry are thus partners. But they are partners with a division of labor. For while the Air Force has its own life and its own interests, it nevertheless functions as the steel-tipped spearhead of the industry's Washington lobby. In this task, it receives civilian support from the Aircraft Industries Association, individual aircraft manufacturers, the Air Force Association and its junior satellite, the Arnold Society, the Air Division of the American Legion National Security Commission, similar veterans' organizations, the International Association of Machinists and other labor unions representing workers in the industry.

The role of the Air Force in this compound pressure group was explained this way by a staff member of one of the Congressional Armed Services committees: "The industry doesn't do much direct lobbying here on the Hill. To sell a project to Congress is the hard way to do it. It's much easier to sell the idea to the Air Force and let the Air Force do the pushing."

How influential the industry is in selling projects — and, more significantly, the policies that justify them — should be of vital concern to every citizen and especially to every Congressional committee interested in national defense.

The delicate feeler at the very end of the steel tip of the Air Force lobby is the Office of Legislative Liaison, presided over by Major General Joe W. Kelly and operating directly under the authority of the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force. At one time, assignment to O.L.L. was considered exile, but no longer. According to the people on Capitol Hill who do business with the services, Kelly is "one of the best in the business" and his office attracts top-caliber people. With over 125 personnel and an annual expenditure of over $700,000, it is the biggest legislative arm of any service — although admittedly not by much.

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Air Force's Increasing Share of the Military Melon

(in $ millions)

Fiscal Year	*Total Dept. Defense Budget*	*Office of Sec. Defense; interservice items*	*Total Divided*	*Air Force*	*% of Total*	*Army*	*% of Total*	*Navy*	*% of Total*
1950	11,844	202	11,642	3,572	31	3,975	34	4,095	35
1951	19,772	362	19,410	6,349	33	7,477	38	5,584	29
1952	38,972	392	38,580	12,711	33	15,708	41	10,161	26
1953	43,711	409	43,302	15,087	35	16,337	38	11,878	27
1954	40,336	464	39,872	15,668	39	12,910	33	11,293	28
1955	35,533	494	35,039	16,407	47	8,899	25	9,733	28
1956	35,791	596	35,195	16,749	47	8,702	25	9,744	28
1957	38,428*	613	37,815	18,359	49	9,058	24	10,398	27
1958	38,000**	750	37,250	17,900	48	8,950	28	10,400	24

**Preliminary* ***Estimated*

Kelly's unit maintains a special office in the House Office Building to serve Congressmen. When a constituent writes his Congressman that his son in the Air Force needs an emergency leave, wants a transfer or needs some other form of special attention, the request is passed along to the O.L.L. office. There it is processed with more or less rapidity. This service — which the other military branches also perform — is a necessary and legitimate one. It also makes friends and influences Congressmen.

Back in the Pentagon, Kelly's office helps pick out the right officers to testify before Congressional committees; it helps prepare presentations which are intended to sell Congress one or another program; it keeps a sensitive ear to the Congressional mood and is responsible for keeping the Air Force informed as well as representing it in the halls of Congress.

The O.L.L., it should be noted, does little work on appropriation bills, which are largely handled by the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (comptroller) and the military chain under him. But O.L.L. does work closely with the Armed Services committees, where the basic lines of military policy are established. These committees clear projects before their submission to the Appropriations committees; their endorsements carry great weight with Congress.

The efficacy of the Air Force's political activity can be measured to a degree in the way the ever-expanding military melon is divided among the services. It is true that technological and other factors have been involved in the ascendancy of the Air Force. But the political footwork of the Air Force and its civilian allies has not been without significance.

In 1950 the still-young Air Force received only 31 per cent of the funds divided among the three services — less than either of the other two. Today, with the total melon more than tripled in size, the Air Force gets 47-48 per cent, more than either of its "rivals" and almost as much as the two combined (*see chart on this page*).

In view of the current furor over missiles and satellites — a furor nourished in part by the aircraft lobby — it is an absolutely safe bet to say that any increase in military spending will widen still further the percentage gap.

THE JET-LIKE rise of the Air Force can be measured in other ways, too. In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in May, 1955, W. Barton Leach, a fervid airpower enthusiast, complained among other things that the air arm was insufficiently represented in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Of the key men in that office, he charged, none had any Air Force background. Since then, Air Force men have moved into dominating positions in the military establishment as a whole, including the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Donald Quarles, former Secretary of the Air Force, has moved up to Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Number Two civilian job in the whole set-up. General Nathan Twining, former Air Force Chief of Staff, has been elevated to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, replacing Admiral Arthur Radford, a Navy man, but in recent years an excellent friend of the Air Force.

This ascension of the Air Force has occurred during a period in which its rationale — airpower as the ultimate deterrent — gained overwhelming acceptance in Washington. The emergence of the concept, of course, can be traced to the astounding series of revolutions which have taken place in the science of destruction since Hiroshima. But strategic theories seldom just "catch on." They have to be helped.

This is where the public-information program of the Air Force and the propaganda efforts of the industry and its organizations come in. The Air Force is allotted $816,667 a year to carry on public-information activity. Thirty full-time and over 200 part-time publicists, in and out of uniform, devote at least a part of their efforts to popularizing the airpower philosophy. Additionally, braided speechmakers brandishing "cleared" scripts appear at civilian conventions and meetings almost every day of the year.

But even if the Air Force were, as Barton Leach inaccurately labeled it, "the silent service," the

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airpower story would still be drummed into the ears of citizens and Congressmen by other units of the lobby. Around the corner from the White House, for example, is the headquarters of the Air Force Association. This organization, first conceived by General H. H. Arnold, sprang to life in 1945 as a "civilian airpower group." Today A.F.A. boasts over 50,000 individual members, 125 community groups and 300 industry affiliates. A key link between the industry and the Air Force, A.F.A. is a dynamic and aggressive exponent of the all-for-air thesis. Says one of its recruiting brochures:

> A.F.A. headquarters are in Washington so that A.F.A. can keep tabs on what's going on in Congress, at the Pentagon, at every top echelon. And so that A.F.A. can present at the top military and government level an airpower policy that is originated and hammered out by some of the best qualified men in the country—our members.

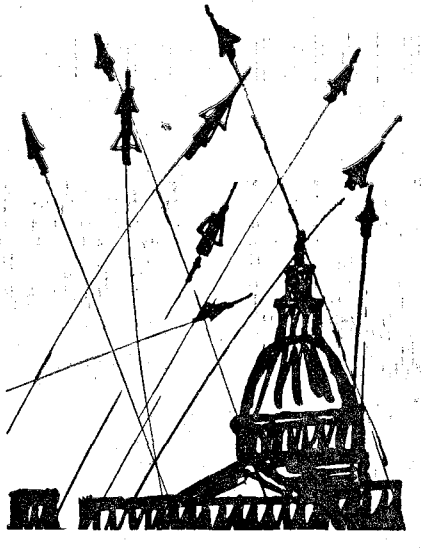
A.F.A.'s interests are broad. It is not registered as a lobby organization and its staff vigorously deny any such function. But here is what the organization tells its members:

> On everything from pay, PX privileges and housing to logistics and optimum overall air strength, A.F.A. has the information that legislators and policy-makers need. And they appreciate honest, thorough help in working out the problems they've got to solve. They turn naturally to A.F.A. . . .

On a more diffuse propaganda level, A.F.A. assiduously issues information in support of a bigger Air Force budget. Its staff works with Hollywood and the press "to get public appreciation for the needs and status of airpower." It also publishes an expensive monthly magazine which is supported by institutional advertising from the aircraft companies.

If A.F.A. serves as a sounding board — particularly a grass-roots sounding board — for the propaganda of the industry and the service, it also performs another vital function in providing a liaison link between the two. Although it is supposed to be a "civilian airpower group," its board of directors is studded with present and former air generals (Jimmy Doolittle, "Tooey" Spatz, George C. Kenney). It is also weighted with industry representatives. The president is Peter Schenk, a high executive in General Electric's military-marketing operation. Convair, Northrop and Fairchild are also represented on the board.

In its own words, the A.F.A. "provides a meeting place for industry and the military . . . We think and act on issues which are fundamental to business because they are fundamental to security." Pointing out that "the U. S. Air Force is beyond question the biggest business, and the biggest single market in the



world," A.F.A. adds unnecessarily that "industry's interest in effective liaison with the Air Force is obvious." An A.F.A. staff man put the relationship more colorfully: "A.F.A. is the catalyst that encourages the Air Force and the industry to make happy music together."

The organization also supervises the Arnold Society, an organization devoted to preaching the airpower line to the country's youth.

PERHAPS even more important politically and in terms of liaison is the Aircraft Industries Association, which, although it protests that it is not a lobby, has registered a lobbyist, Harold Mosier, in its name. It claims to "represent the industry's viewpoints and interests to the government. It is vigilant of legislation and regulations that might affect the aircraft industry." It spends $350,000 a year for a high-powered public-relations program (directed by Hill & Knowlton, a blue-chip agency). It has an overall budget of about $1,500,000 a year, according to a spokesman. Its president is a retired four-star Air Force General, Orval R. Cook. Its well-illustrated publication, *Planes*, goes to 60,000 readers, many of them in the opinion-making professions.

In addition to these components, the airpower lobby is also backed by the pressures applied by individual companies. When North American Aviation lost its massive Navaho missile contract last summer, an up-in-arms delegation of California Congressmen marched on the Department of Defense demanding to know why. The source of this regional pressure is the industry itself, individual companies and the unions representing the aircraft workers.

THUS NO voice has been louder in support of limitless spending for aircraft and missiles than the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, which represents about two-thirds of the organized workers in the industry. As the *Machinists Journal* once put it, "The I.A.M. has . . . become synonymous with the aircraft industry." The union's fortnightly newspaper (circulation almost 1,000,000) may attack the companies on collective-bargaining issues, but there is a closing of ranks on the issue of more airpower.

The United Auto Workers, which represents many aircraft employees, has also pressed hard for higher airpower spending, albeit its leadership does so with some sense of private embarrassment. The blush didn't prevent the union's vice president, Leonard Woodcock, from commenting, after the Navaho cancellation, that the government must not be permitted to cancel weapons contracts purely on the basis of national-defense needs.

Labor's concern is natural. Pre-Sputnik cutbacks in defense spending have already resulted in the layoff of about 25,000 aircraft workers in Los Angeles alone, and additional thousands have lost jobs in such aircraft centers as Long Island. Moreover, the outlook is not good; the

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fabrication of missiles and rockets needs less manpower than that of conventional aircraft, and this is the direction, of course, in which tomorrow's airpower is turning. Layoffs affect whole communities as well as the ranks of labor. Los Angeles, for instance, needs 100,000 new jobs each year to keep pace with its population growth.

So communities join with labor in pressing for a national-defense system that guarantees full employment. National security shapes up as a problem of profits, wages and jobs. Many of the laid-off Los Angeles aircraft workers, sensing the trap they are in, are seeking to get out of the industry altogether and line themselves up with jobs less dependent upon the vagaries of defense spending.

The industry, through spokesmen like General Cook, stridently urges acceleration of spending for both manned aircraft and missiles. The implication is that even if we do not need more planes or missiles at a given time, the industry ought to be fed with contracts just so that it will remain on the alert. Meanwhile, the Air Force presses its own political struggle with the other services.

The result is a swelling, high-pitched chorus that interferes with the sane determination of military or foreign policy. It is, as Charlie Wilson put it, "a troublesome thing."

The Central Just Loves the Pennsy . . *by John S. Tompkins*

THOUGH THE recently announced merger talks between the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads failed to mention the name of Central's controversial chairman, Robert R. Young, many Wall Street observers see his influence behind the scenes. Indeed, perhaps the best capsule analysis of the proposal was made, unwittingly, a month earlier by a big New York brokerage house. A detailed study of the Alleghany Corporation, the holding company which controls Central, noted Mr. Young's ". . . flair for enlisting public support for his objectives when he finds himself in a tight spot. . . ."

From the late nineteen thirties when Young, in league with Cleveland financier Cyrus Eaton, began a campaign against the Wall Street banking houses in favor of competitive bidding on railroad bonds, to his famed post-war quarrel with the Association of American Railroads ("A Hog Can Cross America Without Changing Trains—But You Can't"), he has been very much aware of the uses of publicity.

For this reason as much as any other, the merger proposal was viewed more calmly by the financial community than by the nation's press. The more cynical observers saw it as a gigantic public-relations device designed to divert the attention of New York Central and Alleghany stockholders from the unpleasant realities of depressed stock prices. Not only has Mr. Young seen his adventure in Central go sour, but his reorganization of Alleghany has been thwarted in the courts since mid-1955.

The shrinkage of Alleghany's investment in Central is illustrative of what has happened to stockholders in both companies. As the battle for Central began in 1954, the stock was trading in the low twenties. Alleghany later acquired almost a million shares at an average price of $29. Since that time Central has sold as high as $49.50, but recently hit a new low of $15.37½. With a paper loss of about $13,500,000 on its investment, Alleghany's own stock, having begun 1957 at $9.12½, recently sold at $4.37½.

Thus, the cynics contend that the merger proposal is the first gun in Mr. Young's newest campaign to blame his troubles on the whipping boys of Washington and Wall Street. In three and a half years, his sarcastic attacks on the inability of Central's old management to make the railroad pay have come home to roost. He now tacitly concedes that the road's problems are insoluble, and the almost sure-to-be-rejected merger proposal will enable him once again to fight on the battlefields of the front page for his legion of "Aunt Jane" minority stockholders.

In this view, it is not considered a coincidence that two weeks after the announcement of the proposal, which was not amplified at the time, the presidents of both railroads gave detailed and exclusive interviews supporting the program to the magazine *U.S. News & World Report.* Without deprecating the enterprise of that publication, it furnished a better Washington sounding board for the article than almost any other publication could have done.

ANOTHER reason for regarding the announcement as a publicity stunt rather than a sober financial proposal is a matter of semantics. As one railroad analyst explained it, the announcement would have been thoroughly proper (and routine from a news standpoint) if the word "merger" had been omitted. Without that term, the announcement would merely have presaged another discussion on the consolidation and coordination of duplicate facilities of the sort that has been going on in railroad circles for years. Realistically, experts believe that such cooperation is the most that can be hoped for anyway.

Of course, the slight possibility that Pennsy and Central could be welded into a five-billion-dollar, 20,000-mile railroad empire opens intoxicating prospects. Mr. Young could go down in history as the biggest railroad baron in the world. The merger would rank with the largest industrial consolidations in

JOHN S. TOMPKINS is a financial reporter for The New York Times.

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history; only ten corporate enterprises in this country would exceed it in total assets.

Central itself began in 1831 with the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad's famed De Witt Clinton locomotive pulling converted stage coaches from Albany to Schenectady. Now, 126 years and some 560 mergers later, it ranks as the nation's second largest railroad in assets and the fourth longest in track mileage. Pennsylvania began operating in 1849 from Harrisburg to Lewiston, Pa., and over the years since that time, by a similarly large number of small mergers, has become the biggest railroad in the country in assets and its fifth longest.

Actually, the Pennsylvania-Central scheme is the third major rail merger now under study. For some time the Erie, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, and the Delaware & Hudson have been thinking about consolidation, but last year the president of one of these roads said that the necessary approvals might take five years. Studies are also being made on behalf of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, and the Spokane, Portland & Seattle railroads.

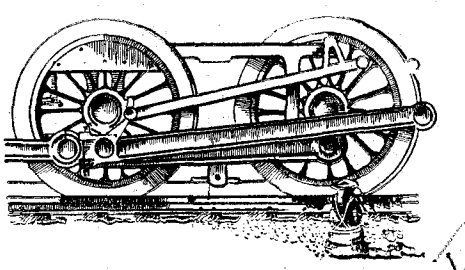
THE BIGGEST hurdle to the Pennsy-Central merger might be political. The first objection was voiced by Senator Estes Kefauver (D. Tenn.); within a week, New York State's Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz injected himself into the act to protect the "rights of the people." Actually, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates the railroads, has been on record since World War I as favoring railroad consolidation, but the political climate since the depression has made this largely a dead issue. The result is that the I.C.C. has tended in recent years to interpret rather rigidly the dictum that competition must be preserved. In any case, the commission would be compelled to hold public hearings on the question, and the unions, truckers, airlines, connecting railroads, minority stockholders and officials of cities along the route would have much to say.

One particular interested group, though not yet heard from, could be crucial in preventing the merger. These are the creditors of the two railroads in the shape of the insurance companies and investment trusts which hold their bonds. Wall Streeters consider it highly unlikely that an insurance company holding the mortgage bonds of the Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, would permit a consolidated lien to be substituted. Central's long-term debt is more than a billion dollars and a mere description of the complex jungle of its bond issues occupies ten pages of fine print in the telephone-directory-size Moody's Transportation Manual. The Pennsylvania, incidentally, is generally rated as a better credit risk.

Robert R. Young captured Central in the summer of 1954 after a bitter proxy fight that had actually been launched seven years earlier when, after he had acquired several hundred thousand shares of Central stock for the treasury of the Chesapeake & Ohio he was then running, he was prohibited by the I.C.C. from taking a seat on Central's board. Early in 1954, he resigned from the C & O to clear the way for the proxy fight.

It is generally thought that what attracted Mr. Young to Central, aside from vanity, was the opportunity of acquiring for $29 a stock with a consolidated book value of $190. In addition, Central has an attractive portfolio of real estate on New York's Park Avenue, including the land under the Waldorf Astoria and a dozen other hotels and office buildings, a non-rail income of about $26,000,000 a year and, apparently, considerable non-essential railroad property that could be sold.

Central's real estate is still valuable and now that the argument with the New Haven railroad over control of the property has been settled, it will become more so with development. But savings through streamlining of railroad operations have not been as easy to effect as was supposed, and costs have tended to rise rapidly. The hardest blow has been the sudden drop in income this year. While both railroads were affected, Central was hit hardest; its earnings sank to $8,759,018 for the first nine months of this year from $28,172,388 in the 1956 period. The reason for the sharp decline dramatizes the changing role of the railroads in the past several decades. Once enjoying a near-monopoly of the freight and passenger business, they have been reduced by truck, bus, airline and automobile competition to the point where even a slight reduction in business activity threatens to put them in the red. The sharp decline in Central's earnings so far this year, for instance, has been produced by only an 8 per cent decline in carloadings.



IN ALL fairness, it must be admitted that railroads often appear to be more harassed by regulatory authorities than other industries. The I.C.C. began riding herd on them in 1887, long before Washington's other alphabetical authorities had been thought of. And despite a handful of major amendments to the original act, the I.C.C. apparently continues to treat the railroads as though they still monopolized the transportation business. Earlier this year, Central's president commented bitterly that a certain bankrupt commuter line was able to get a rate increase merely by showing increased costs; evidently, the president implied, Central would have to go bankrupt to get the same treatment.

On the other hand, railroad management itself has too often been backward. When William White, the man Mr. Young ousted as president of Central, took over the road in 1952, he stated that his objective was to "treat the railroad like a business." The most elementary steps in market research, management-training and sales incentives are largely unknown in most railroads. Mr. Young, if he has done nothing else, has injected some modern, streamlined manipulations into the industry.

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A Prophet for Our Age

William Blake: 1757-1957

J. Bronowski

HISTORY HAS A malicious trick of making little of what once seemed to us great events; and history may be harder on our age than on many. Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that the history of our age will ever be seen otherwise than as dominated by its two great wars: two wars which together have taken ten years out of our lives, and marked us with the hidden stigmata of violence and grief. The history of Napoleon remains today, after the eagles and the magnificence, what Goya savagely put into his pictures of it: twenty-two years of war stamping the men and the treasure of Europe into the dirt. So time may dwarf the mechanical heroics of our age, but we may be sure that it will neither overlook them nor treat them more kindly.

The name of Napoleon comes immediately and naturally into these reflections. The hundred years from his defeat until 1914 were by no means peaceful. There was India and the Crimea, the Civil War in America, wars between France and Prussia, Russia and Japan, the South African and the Balkan wars. But these wars had from the first the indifferent air of encountering and not of shaping the life of their times. They do not compare with the convulsions which for a generation preceded Waterloo, or those which for a generation have followed the battles of Tannenberg and the Marne. They did not terrify their generations as the generations of Munich and of the Holy Alliance have been terrorized. They did not close upon mind and heart with iron hoops.

The age of the great revolutions—the American Revolution from 1775, the French Revolution from 1789, and the Industrial Revolution throughout this time—was strikingly like our own. Its fears and its heart-searchings, its shifts of loyalties, were like ours. This is the profound reason which makes us turn to the literature which began then: the literature of the Romantic Revival. Blake was one of the most original, and has hitherto been one of the most neglected, pioneers of that literature.

William Blake was born two hundred years ago, on November 28, 1757.* He was apprenticed at the age of fourteen or so, for the usual term of seven years, to an engraver, and he earned his living by engraving all his life. He was married in 1782; in 1783 friends collected and published some of his boyhood poems.

Blake's friends then and afterwards were Liberal dissenters, many of them Unitarians or what we should now call humanists: such men as John Flaxman and Henry Fuseli and Tom Paine and the Radical publisher, Joseph Johnson. They all sympathized with the American Revolution, and they began by sympathizing with the French Revolution. In the glow of optimism of 1789, Blake engraved and himself printed his *Songs of Innocence*. The imagery of these poems is often Christian, but essentially it derives from Rousseau: Christ is worshipped as a child, the companion of simple and noble beasts.

The English public, however, shocked Blake and his friends by refusing to give to the French Revolution the sympathy which it had given to the American Revolution. The change is shown dramatically in the behavior of the Whig leader, Edmund Burke, who had once ranted on behalf of the American Revolution, and who now cried out for a crusade against the French Revolution. Blake continued to support the French Revolution, but the change in the public mood made him feel bitter and helpless, and this is the mood of the *Songs of Experience* which he wrote at this time as a contrast to the happy *Songs of Innocence.*

THE 1790s were starvation years, and some of Blake's Christian friends decided that he would never do well until he was removed from the influence of his London cronies. They therefore found him work under the patronage of a Liberal poet and bore, William Hayley, at Felpham in Sussex, sixty-five miles from London. Blake tried to conform there, but he hated his company and his work, and he ended by getting into a fight with a soldier, for which he was tried for sedition in 1804.

Blake had written several fairly long and obscure poems, in a prophetic style which is a mixture of Ossian and Old Testament rhetoric, during the 1790s. The disguised theme of these prophetic books is the liberation of man from the bondage of State and Church. Now, on his return to London, he wrote two even longer prophetic books, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, in which the revolutionary theme is expressed entirely in religious terms. These books have given Blake the reputation of a Christian mystic. But Blake was never an orthodox Christian. He was a heretic, and his heresy was the Manichaean heresy, which holds that the God who created the world is an oppressor, and that Christ must overthrow him to liberate man. In the year of his death, in 1827, Blake still wrote a vigorous attack on a version of the Lord's Prayer which had just been published by

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J. BRONOWSKI, distinguished British scientist, is also widely known as a man of letters. Among his literary works are William Blake: a Man Without a Mask *and* The Poet's Defence. *He is also the author of* Science and Human Values, *which appeared in* The Nation *of December 26, 1936, and has now been published by Julian Messner, Inc.*

(*See also Letter from London, page 414.)

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Thornton, because he thought too subservient to State and Church. No one can miss Blake's understanding of the modern world who reads the bitter parody of Dr. Thornton's Prayer which Blake wrote then:

> Give us day by day our Real Taxed Substantial Money bought Bread; deliver from the Holy Ghost whatever cannot be Taxed; for all is debts & Taxes between Caesar & us & one another.

The modern world was made between 1760 and 1815. Its making in England followed the uneasy Indian summer of the Augustan age, and was followed as uneasily by the sultry stillness of the age of Queen Victoria. Few readers now have either the patience or the sympathy to linger over the gracious Augustan claptrap of Addison, or over the elevated Victorian optimism of Tennyson. And for the same reason: we share neither their calm nor their self-assurance. The minds which sound and echo in our own are those which struggled to speak in the urgent years about 1800, because they felt a compulsion like our own. This was the age, pitched between invention and imagination, when the machine invaded the bloodstream of our lives.

THE LIKENESS between our dilemma and that of Blake's time derives certainly from the changes set in motion by the development of machines in factories. The keyword here is invention, but invention less in a technical than a social meaning. In fact, the inventions which made the Industrial Revolution from 1760 were seldom new. What was new was the organization of labor and of capital in a manner which made it possible to exploit the machines.

Consider the point in the language of William Blake, which is not usually thought remarkable for technical nicety. Blake has all the passion of the crank and the scientist for using everyday words in rather specialized, rather intricate, rather tricky meanings. With a little goodwill it is not difficult to follow him; but we must follow his logic exactly. For example, why does Blake make the bad machine turn its wheel from West to East, as he says, "against the current of Creation"? Plainly because he pictures the good machine as taking its current from the sun, East to West. And he also has a more extravagant notion, which derives from the vision of Ezekiel, that the good machine is moved by a wheel within a wheel. Therefore the bad machine is necessarily characterized by having a wheel without a wheel—in his charming phrase, "with cogs tyrannic moving by compulsion." But there is nothing private or whimsical about the reason which Blake gives for damning the eighteenth-century factory, wheel without wheel:

> They forg'd the sword, the chariot of war, the battle ax,
> The trumpet fitted to the battle and the flute of summer,
> And all the arts of life they chang'd into the arts of death.
> The hour glass contemn'd because its simple workmanship
> Was as the workmanship of the plowman, and the water wheel
> That raises water into Cisterns, broken & burn'd in fire
> Because its workmanship was like the workmanship of the shepherd,
> And in their stead intricate wheels invented, Wheel without wheel,
> To perplex youth in their outgoings

Europa

Her name
on the billboards was senorita
Conchita de la Miranda or something of the sort
and in torero clothes with all the appropriate
skimpiness, paillettes and spangles,
she had a personable fanny and a broad
white simper to match
and a spit curl on her forehead
that looked as if
it had been painted on with Japalac.

She was supposed
to stand on a small wooden pedestal alone
in the middle of the plaza de toros
doing the living statue
and the bull, coming out of the toril,
was supposed
to take her for a real statue,
which *this* bull (hereinafter known as *he*),
possibly because he had never seen a real statue,
did not.

He came in running light and fast,
clamped to a skidding stop at the sight
of the chattering tiers of spectators
and stood a moment blinking in the sun.
Not exactly the china shop he had been
undoubtedly led to expect, but still
one does with what one has.
He lowered his head, took aim —
not at Conchita but at the pedestal
in one low-running streak.
The pedestal went skimming to the far
end of the arena and for an instant
Conchita floated in the air
like a Carpaccio angel in tight pants,
bounced once on the bull's sleek rump,
then, fast as said tight pants would let her,
scampered for the nearest burladero
with simper, spit curl, fanny still intact.

I thought of Europa and the trim
Minoan girls in their massive golden
jockstraps baiting the
black bulls of Gnossos!

RAMON GUTHRIE

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and to bind to labours
Of day and night the myriads of
Eternity, that they might file
And polish brass and iron hour after
hour, laborious task,
Kept ignorant of its use: that they
might spend the days of wisdom
In sorrowful drudgery to obtain a
scanty pittance of bread,
In ignorance to view a small portion
and think that All.

From the outset Blake thinks of this production line as making weapons of war. The Birmingham small-arms industry did in fact expand somewhat in this way under the stimulus of the wars against France. But it is doubtful whether Blake knew very precisely of this or that piece of industrial reorganization. Rather is this one of those bold inventions through which he looked out of his age, and with imaginative foresight looked into ours.

Of the seventy years of Blake's life, from 1757 to 1827, England was at war for thirty-five. From the Seven Years' War through the American War of Independence to the French wars, they became less and less the traditional skirmishes of mercenaries. They became more and more national, ideological, ruthless, impersonal. They became the economic wars of Napoleon's Decrees and the British Orders in Council; they became total war. This sequence, step by step more inhuman and more mechanical, made Blake identify his two hatreds—hatred of the machine and hatred of war:

The Soldier, arm'd with Sword and
Gun,
Palsied strikes the Summer's Sun.
The Strongest Poison ever known
Came from Caesar's Laurel Crown.
Nought can deform the Human Race
Like to the Armour's iron brace.

Nothing is more obvious in these poems than the dependence of Blake's thought upon the harsh materials which his age supplied to him. The dependence has been ignored, because the Victorians who discovered Blake's symbolic books were naturally out of sympathy with his not at all respectable social inclinations, and naturally preoccupied with his religious ones. They were not wrong, but they missed the point. Today the heavy sound in his books

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of the furnace and the loom has so plain an echo in our ear that we hardly need to be told how good was Blake's ear. It was too good. It followed the details of war and repression, of industry and famine, so faithfully that he could not but become first unpopular, and then shunned and neglected.

Blake's indifference to his neglect by his contemporaries has been mistaken, by more worldly readers, for indifference to the world. In fact, it now becomes clear that he wrote his symbolic books like a diary, as much about the outer world as about his inner thoughts. He put down in his prophetic books what he thought of Malthus' theories of over-population in the same breath, and the same idiom, as his thoughts about God. Since he was an exceptionally sensitive, above all an imaginative observer, his background much of the time is simply too wide for us. There is too that superb Biblical idiom, which must have baffled even the universal spy of his day, and which is no plainer to our later age. Read a passage in which that very spy is introduced to us, with appropriate ceremony:

> Thammuz in Lebanon and Rimmon in Damascus curtain'd:
> Osiris, Isis, Orus in Egypt, dark their Tabernacles on Nile
> Floating with solemn songs and on the Lakes of Egypt nightly
> With pomp even till morning break and Osiris appear in the sky:
> But—

(and here comes the spy)

> But Belial of Sodom and Gomorrha, obscure Demon of Bribes
> And secret Assassinations, not worship'd nor ador'd, but
> With a finger on the lips and the back turn'd to the light.

The air of mystery here goes deeper than the idiom. Plainly it haunts the thought, in its very structure and articulation. And our first reaction is that we have blundered into a private universe, or rather a private sanctuary. We have the feeling of watching with growing impatience a mystic ritual which we suspect to be meaningless.

This is a common and pardonable misunderstanding of the aims of any inquiry whose method is contemplation. What is called Blake's mystical system or symbolism is an attempt, like any other, to unify his experience.

It is not an exceptionally private attempt. We all make similar attempts, particularly in our emotional life, to square our desires with our obligations in a rational manner. In practice, as soon as we run into difficulty—that is, into temptation—we hastily stuff these attempts away; and produce them again, with a great show of righteousness, when we have been turned down. By way of revenge, we call the more dogged attempts of thoughtful men like Blake far-fetched, unrealistic, irrational. The truth is that Blake's search for internal unity is dictated by the same compulsion to be rational as any scientific paper of the last years on the erratic behavior of liquid helium.

WE MUST go back to understand that magic and superstition, of which Blake is not free, are very simple, very crude attempts at practical science—that is, at the control of natural forces for human ends. Mysticism is a more elaborate attempt to do what theoretical science seeks to do—that is, to unify our experience of the whole of Nature. More particularly, mysticism tries to formulate the most difficult problems of the personality. These are the problems of weighing the comforts of being commonplace against the importance of being singular; of balancing our wish to be a man like others, living in a world of men, against our ambition to be a person unlike others and set apart from their world. Philosophers call this the problem of the one and the many, and psychologists call it the ego and the id. It remains the single problem at the heart of consciousness: the conflict of the personality which is separate and nevertheless is penetrated by, and exists only through, the personalities surrounding it.

No effort of ingenuity and invention can in fact solve these problems, in a practical sense. The contraries shift into and through one another, but they cannot be unified, though we pursue them with Blake through Innocence and Experience, through Good and Evil, through thick and thin, into his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. No writer can do more than labor after, now and again seize, more seldom communicate, one imaginative moment of insight and exaltation. We hold the moment breathless between our lips, and feel beyond words that now, just now, we have for an instant the power by a single decision to resolve any one of the world's crushing dilemmas.

This mystic search by Blake for the single key to all experience is not less real, and not even less scientific, because it does not use the jargon of psychologists. And compare him with those of his contemporaries whom we think most enlightened: Wordsworth taking pride in his common humanity, Coleridge absorbed in philosophic research, Shelley with his enthusiasm for the conquering Prometheus of science. How much more knowledgeable is Blake in his premises, more vigorous in inquiry, at once more imaginative and more robust even in his pessimism. For let us not deceive ourselves: the experiences which Blake tried to unify were actual, and they were disastrous.

> What is the price of Experience? do men buy it for a song?
> Or wisdom for a dance in the street? No, it is bought with the price
> Of all that a man hath, his house, his wife, his children.
> Wisdom is sold in the desolate market where none come to buy,
> And in the wither'd field where the farmer plows for bread in vain.

The *Songs of Experience* to which these verses refer were printed by Blake on his own engraver's press in 1794, when public opinion in England was running strongly against the French Revolution. Thereafter Blake's poems seem to be without exception deeply pessimistic. There are in them very beautiful passages of human warmth and ease, but the burden of these is always personal resignation. And there are noisy and insincere passages of determined optimism: "I will not cease from Mental Fight"—

> And now the time returns again:
> Our souls exult, and London's towers
> Receive the Lamb of God to dwell

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In England's green and pleasant bowers.

But these have long ceased to express a belief, a hope, even a pipe dream. They are no more than a form of words, designed to close somehow a poem of otherwise endless loss. Blake had seen flourish and harden everything which he believed to be evil — a narrow formalism in science, empty authority in religion, reaction in politics: war, the machine, the extinction of the personality. His own misfortunes, which began in the slump of 1797 and culminated in his trial for sedition in 1804, at last all but silenced him.

IT IS the belief of imaginative poets, of whom Blake was among the first, that they are the symbol and the voice of universal experiences more lasting than the accidents of time. The poets of Augustan wit and invention who dined with Swift would have thought this claim extravagant. And it is doubtful whether the claim is ever made by poets who feel at home in their time. Nevertheless, the more impassioned poets are surely right. Poetry does speak from one age to another, because it is founded in experiences which are simple, common, profound, which are human and universal. But alas! to the generations of Belsen now and Peterloo then, the timeless human experiences do not end at love, beauty, truth and passion. They embrace poverty and fear and injustice and chicane; the loss of place and the social disasters.

All these are audible even in poets whose manner seems most lyrical and remote — in Keats in his time and A. E. Housman in ours. Blake therefore was no less the voice of universal passions because we hear in him also the economic and social, the human destruction of a group neither more nor less remarkable than others. He was an eighteenth-century artisan and artist, of the group which included engravers, coach painters, watchmakers, designers of fabrics, inventors of ornaments, painters of snuff-boxes and pub signs. The machine took their livelihood and murdered their integrity. Blake looked from himself to them, from them to humanity, and from their age to ours in a single protest.

Why trembles honesty, and like a murderer
Why seeks he refuge from the frowns of his immortal station?
Must the generous tremble and leave his joy to the idle, to the pestilence,
That mock him? who commanded this? what God? what Angel?
To keep the gen'rous from experience till the ungenerous
Are unrestrain'd performers of the energies of nature;
Till pity is become a trade and generosity a science
That men get rich by; and the sandy desart is giv'n to the strong?
What God is he writes laws of peace and clothes him in a tempest?
What pitying Angel lusts for tears and fans himself with sighs?
What crawling villain preaches abstinence and wraps himself
In fat of lambs? no more I follow, no more obedience pay!

We can say nothing about this man, who walked upright through a crippling time, who believed himself not the creator but the tool of the imagination — we can say nothing which is so simple and so true as the words which he used of himself and his wordly critics:

A Last Judgment is Necessary because Fools flourish. Nations Flourish under Wise Rulers and are depress'd under foolish Rulers; it is the same with Individuals as Nations; works of Art can only be produc'd in Perfection where the Man is either in Affluence or is Above the Care of it. Poverty is the Fool's Rod, which at last is turn'd on his own back; this is A Last Judgment—when Men of Real Art Govern and Pretenders Fall. Some People and not a few Artists have asserted that the Painter of this Picture would not have done so well if he had been properly Encourag'd. Let those who think so, reflect on the State of Nations under Poverty and their incapability of Art; tho' Art is above Either, the Argument is better for Affluence than Poverty; and tho' he would not have been a greater Artist, yet he would have produc'd Greater works of Art in proportion to his means. A Last Judgment is not for the purpose of making Bad Men better, but for the Purpose of hindering them from opressing the Good with Poverty and Pain by means of Such Vile Arguments and Insinuations.

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Substitutes for Faith

WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN. By Bertrand Russell. Simon & Schuster. 266 pp. $3.50.

RELIGION WITHOUT REVELATION. By Julian Huxley. Harper & Bros. 252 pp. $4.

Robert McAfee Brown

BOTH the Christian and the non-Christian ought to have a good many questions about the "return to religion" in our day. Responsible critics within the Christian faith have not been slow to raise questions about the adequacy of the "religion" to which we are "returning." But it is usually left to the non-Christian critics to raise the more basic question as to whether every religion, whether shallow or profound, is not a delusion. Those who stand within the faith are in constant need of this prophetic jab from the non-believer, as a safeguard against complacency, soft thinking and irrelevance.

The two books here in question are attempts to dissuade men from accepting Christianity and, more positively, to persuade them to adopt an alternate faith, based on a new trinity: man, intelligence and scientific method. Most of each book has previously appeared in print, parts of Russell's as long as fifty-eight years ago, and most of Huxley's more than a quarter century ago. I think that is one reason why they will prove to be less than satisfactory instruments in our generation, either for dissuading from Christianity as an ultimate faith or persuading for science as an ultimate faith. For I cannot escape the feeling as I read these volumes that their authors are expending their undoubted talents in fighting the wrong battles, or if they are fighting the right battle, they are fighting it on the wrong front. The issues with which they are concerned are simply not the most burning issues in the current debate between Christians and non-Christians. As a Christian, I feel with these books the dissatisfaction that either of their authors might rightly feel were I to write a book claiming that I had disproved the validity of modern science, when all I had really managed to do was to expose some of the inadequacies of behavioristic psychology or pre-Hiroshima physics.

To be sure, the Christian cannot escape quite that easily from the bombardment of two such excellent minds as those of Bertrand Russell and Julian Huxley, but a brief glance at the contents of the two books will show both the values and the limitations of their respective approaches.

RUSSELL'S attack on Christianity stems in large part from a profound and wholly admirable hatred of the injustices, outrages, indecencies and persecutions which have been perpetrated in the name of religion. In this attack any Christian worth his salt can join wholeheartedly, and rejoice that a prophet has arisen not only to assault the domain of Baal, but also the domain of the Lord's elect.

But when the tumult and the shouting die, one is a little disappointed. The rapier Lord Russell wields, manipulated with a combination of wit, fervor, urbane charm and moral outrage, seems to have inflicted nothing but flesh wounds. No deadly blow has been struck. One simply does not dispose of religion by asserting that "fear is the basis of the whole thing," or by giving the impression that certain institutional defects of Roman Catholicism are typical of the whole of Christendom (or even of Roman Catholicism at its best), or by insisting on what is actually an ultra-fundamentalistic interpretation of Scripture and then demanding that Christians accept Lord Russell's exegesis to their own confounding. Nor does Lord Russell really dispose of Christian faith in eternal life by describing it, in Greek terms, as "immortality," or in other terms, not so readily identified, as "survival." And to treat the Christian understanding of salvation as "individualistic" is simply to expose oneself to the charge of caricature.

In other words, what Lord Russell rather effectively demolishes is something at a considerable remove from what responsible Christian theologians today would describe as "Christianity." On these terms, many of them have been fighting the same battles as the author of *Why I Am Not a Christian.*

To my mind the most creative and significant statement in the entire collection is the famous essay, "A Free Man's Worship," written in 1903. I am glad to learn that Russell still accepts this as an accurate description of his position, for it is an open, honest and quite convincing statement of the *real* alternative to Christianity. No sentimentalism here, no easy assurances that science will solve all our problems, no specious claims about the eternal quality of values—here Russell shows in all of its starkness, and with a kind of despairing grandeur, what the cosmos is like without God. The challenge of this essay alone will outlast all of the cute and only occasionally cutting criticisms of Christianity in the rest of the book.

HUXLEY'S *Religion Without Revelation* is a much more significant work of scholarship. At many points he probes deeply, and at all points he gives the impression of a wise, concerned, highly-motivated man, who is out not simply to win an argument over some bull-headed theist, but rather to provide a legitimate place for the expression of religious devotion and commitment in a world where there is no god. Far from wanting to get rid of religion, Huxley wants to construct a religion to which modern man can give himself without compromising his intellectual integrity. His credo revolves around belief in the possibilities of man, and the possibilities of scientific method as the best means both for understanding man and for solving his problems. Disavowing traditional Christian assertions at their face value, Huxley tries to extract from them a naturalistic meaning. He "demythologizes," for example, the doctrine of the Trinity, and reinterprets other facets of traditional Christian faith in such a way that a residue of significance can be extracted from them. In much of this he seems to fall into the genetic fallacy, e. g. of explaining a thing (and thereby "explaining it away") by reference to its origins, a device which would raise considerable difficulties for the modern science he espouses, should one be inclined to put the shoe on the other foot.

But Huxley, like Russell, does this very much in terms of the questions and conflicts of a generation ago. Save for Chapters three and nine, which are new, there is little indication that he has taken seriously the theological writing of the last quarter of a century. If Huxley were really to take account of the concerns expressed in some of the recent books in his revised bibliography (such as Paul Tillich's *The Protestant Era*), he could not be satisfied with many parts of his description of contemporary religious belief.

As I finish these two books I am grateful for the stimulus they provide (perhaps greater than the above remarks would indicate). But I also close them with the feeling that if it came to making a real attack on the Christian faith, I could make a better case for disbelief myself.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN is associate professor of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary.

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The Futility of Punishment

THE OFFENDERS. By Giles Playfair and Derrick Sington. Simon and Schuster. 305 pp. $3.95.

Graham Hughes

NOT TO BE alive is so awesome and irrevocable a prospect that no society can escape the problem of the value to be attached to individual human existence. Man has never yet been able to give up the ultimate power-thrill of extinguishing life in others, and the spokesmen of our Judaeo-Christian moral heritage have never given a clear lead on the importance of the preservation of human life. To kill or die for the state is applauded in time of war; killing in legal punishment has been commonly accepted, and to lay down one's life for others may be the ultimate heroism. Life is sacred in Western society, but not so very sacred. Suicide, abortion and euthanasia may be anathema, but capital punishment can be blessed by bishops and even nuclear war may enjoy divine approval.

So, when contemporary thinkers are moved, as they must be, to speak out with horror against torture, aggressive war or genocide, they find little intellectual support in a theological apparatus which can be so neatly harnessed to the service of policy. And it is no surprise that in *The Offenders,* an important recent publication by two English writers, the strongly-urged pleas for changes in the attitude of our penal laws to human life rest scarcely at all on moral or religious bases.

This book is subtitled, *The Case Against Legal Vengeance,* and in it the authors present six case studies (including those of the Rosenbergs and Irma Grese) which they connect and expound with the unifying theme that both capital punishment and long prison sentences are unhappy and ineffective penal policies. This is not just another in the stream of edifying homilies on the barbarities of the death penalty which have come out of England in recent years. Indeed the authors regard the usual position of the advocates of abolition as weak and compromised. The abolitionists protest at the cruelty of taking life as a deliberate instrument of state policy but then, as if to reassure the opposition, they comfortingly point to life imprisonment as an equally terrifying deterrent. Again, they commonly restrict their plea for abolition to the crime of murder and admit that the death penalty may be necessary for treason or grave breaches of military discipline in time of war. Messrs. Playfair and Sington strenuously reject this narrow attack. Their thesis is the broad and interesting one that all harsh penal policies should be abandoned for the simple and overwhelming reason that they don't work well. The whole sad history of crime and violence passionately testifies that harsh threats do not deter. Society can protect itself, they argue, only by conducting an organized search for the first appearance of criminal impulses and by applying curative or confining techniques at this earliest opportunity.

THE BOOK draws a compelling picture of one of the most terrible figures in contemporary penal activity—the obviously mentally defective offender who progresses through crimes of ascending violence and increasing prison terms until he arrives at his inevitable homicide. He is then bathed in the glare of an inflammatory and irresponsible publicity until a public, which neglected its earlier opportunities to restrain him and protect his victim, clamors for the life of its captive monster. Society has stood back and waited for him to kill; it then doubles its responsibility for useless death by executing the offender. How infinitely preferable, the authors urge, would be the confining of potential criminals for curative purposes at the first exhibition of violent tendencies. The thesis is that the liberals are once again right, and not because of sentimental urges, but for the eminently satisfying reason that liberal policies work better for the suppression of crime and the safety of the community.

Now it is very true that the most distressing feature of the death penalty in England was the pathetic annual dozen of defectives who were its victims. In Western Europe where violent crime is largely the unhappy expression of psychopathic personality, it is easy to see the inefficiency of harsh punishment as a deterrent and the revolting hypocrisy of regarding it as retribution. But in America, where the genius for organization has unfortunately spread itself into criminal activities, it is much more difficult to treat violent crime as a trivial problem and to put oneself in the role of paternal healer towards the killer. The authors may be right that capital punishment and life sentences are also ineffective deterrents for the exponents of organized crime, but in this context the retributive argument has greater validity and needs a more serious rebuttal.

Again, the book is somewhat too glib and optimistic in its picture of the prospects of curing criminal psychopaths. The best medical opinion seems to be that at present the treatment is rarely successful. Long, even indefinite, confinement will still be necessary for such offenders, but there is certainly a pressing need for their study and treatment in specialized institutions and *The Offenders* valuably underlines this point.

The authors envisage a penal system in which the concept of punishment for crime will be replaced by a policy of punishment (if we are still to call it that) for the individual criminal. The nature of the offense will diminish in importance and will yield to the study of the offender's personality. At the same time they repeat an old plea for taking the power to sentence from the judge and giving it instead to "social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists." This is a suggestion which lawyers traditionally distrust. But lawyers have always distrusted the wisdom of any innovation which limits their

GRAHAM HUGHES, formerly Lecturer in Law at the University of Hull, is now a visiting associate professor at the Yale Law School.

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is. Once it is accepted that the ch is for the combination of deterent and curative measures most effective for the individual offender, then the social scientists' panel is clearly better qualified to make the decision than the lawyer.

THE AUTHORS of *The Offenders* have done a valuable job for the lay reader by putting the abolitionist movement into the general context of a consistent penal policy. But, while this book deserves the warmest welcome and the highest praise, it leaves unasked a desperately important question. Is the preservation of human life a value which must fluctuate according to social interests and pressures? The authors say that capital punishment is barbarous, but on their own approach it is difficult to give more meaning to this than the proposition that at the moment the death penalty does not give effective protection to society. Now it is very necessary that we should be made to see that a good deal of our criminal law is antediluvian in the light of the values of our own society. But how are we to meet intellectually the challenge of a society which rejects our values, a society which may embrace mass murder as the logical and necessary step for furthering its openly proclaimed ethic? Is the taking of human life good or bad simply in relation to a given policy?

It is surely in the face of such challenges that the burst of moral revulsion at the taking of human life begins to seem infinitely valuable. This book amply demonstrates that a communal revulsion against killing may be distorted into a demand for vengeance against the murderer. But there is nevertheless a great tendency for good in the simple if extreme position that killing is absolutely wrong in any circumstances. The advocates of the abolition of capital punishment who do not much concern themselves with the aspect of deterrence but are content to insist that the state should never deliberately deprive a human being of life are expressing a sentiment which is absolutely essential for the survival of human life at all in the times in which we live. Our society would never be in great danger if unanimity could be secured on the absolute impermissibility of the taking of human life. The position supported by Messrs. Playfair and Sington, which seems to be that the taking of life is objectionable because greater social harm than good is produced, cannot be attacked in itself and in its exposition they furnish us with indispensable ammunition for the reform of our criminal law. But it is a position which needs the most careful application by good and wise men, for it provides no support for the fundamental respect for human life which in an age of hydrogen bombs the world most desperately needs.

LETTER from LONDON

Thomas Parkinson

THE bicentenary of Blake's birth is being celebrated on November 28. It will not be any casual event: Sir Jacob Epstein has been commissioned to design and execute a memorial bust, and after a special service of commemoration, Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams will unveil the bust in Westminster Abbey. So the fiery spirit of Blake will be admitted officially into the company of England's poets.

Blake learned much of his art in Westminster Abbey, and from its tombs he probably derived the long straight robes that characterize many of his spiritual designs. These designs are now on display in memorial exhibitions at the Victoria and Albert and at the British Museum. The show at the Victoria and Albert is less impressive than that in Bloomsbury, but both attempt to show Blake in his artistic context, along with his contemporaries, Barry, Flaxman, Fuseli, Martin Romney, Stothard, and his followers, Calvert and Palmer. This is probably the best way to see him. His work is not meant to bear the comparison with the glories of Turner that the recent traveling show of British art unfortunately invited, and the room at the Tate that holds a rotating permanent selection from its matchless Blake collection makes him seem special and a little freakish. At the British Museum one can for a brief period see Blake's painting more clearly, its close relation to his vigorous engravings and his brilliant poems, its consequence in the work of Calvert and Palmer, its amiable commentary in Fuseli and Flaxman.

Fortunately for those who cannot see this exhibition, the Nonesuch Press has issued two fine volumes, one a text of the complete writings with all variants and some new material, the other a selection from his pencil drawings* For some reason, critics have always been hard on Blake's drawing, and this has always baffled me. The argument is a little odd: Blake had little formal training, and as a result he drew after engravings (especially of Michelangelo's work) rather than after the human figure. The moral seems to be, spend a lot of time in the academy or no one will believe that you can draw. The only other possible moral is too harsh on critics: never believe what you see. This beautifully printed book of Blake's drawings should help to destroy this foolishness. Some of Blake's drawings —especially the Dante illustrations— are painfully exact anatomically, and many of the drawings have more in common with the flayed figures of anatomical charts than with any Michelangelo drawings. The real point is not that anatomical charts and engravings were all over the place in Blake's youth, but that he drew well; not that he seldom worked from a model, but that he worked at a high pitch and with passionate exactitude. Actually, the chief reason for reacting negatively to Blake's drawings is the one that Eliot highlighted in his essay on Blake: the unpleasantness of genius. When some of Blake's drawings were shown to George III he cried out, "Take them away, take them away!" A piece of spontaneous criticism that speaks volumes.

THE Nonesuch Press edition of the writings is also beautifully printed, on India paper, and it is a delicate joy to read. It seems strange to read it in contemporary London, to walk out to John Linnell's cottage and think of Blake coming to Hampstead in his declining years to the tiny and much delayed honor that he received from a handful of perceptive and devoted young men. Now, Hampstead is cluttered with the international Bohemia of Greenwich Village, St. Germain des Prés, North Beach; and the once pas-

THOMAS PARKINSON is professor of English at the University of California (Berkeley) and the author of W. B. Yeats, Self Critic. *He is spending the next year in Europe on a Guggenheim fellowship.*

**The Complete Writings of William Blake,* ed. by Geoffrey Keynes. The Nonesuch Press, distributed in America by Random House. $12.50. *Blake's Pencil Drawings,* ed. by Geoffrey Keynes. The Nonesuch Press, distributed in America by British Book Centre. $21.

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toral air of its green and pleasant lands is poisoned by the blackening stain of satanic mills. Even the ceremony of November 28 that places Blake among the officially honored dead seems empty. Unlike Keats, he did not want to be "among the English poets" after his death. He wanted something other and, perhaps, unattainable. This is to be seen above all in the work of his last years, the Dante illustrations: his desire to be among those immortals who are so perspicuous that we do not see them but what they indicate. To me he has always stood for a sacred rage for liberty in the most comprehensive meaning of the term, and such liberty of spirit seems all the more relevant as our liberties are hourly and intimately assailed, and most of all by ourselves.

A few months before his death he wrote one of the most moving letters in human history:

> I have been very near the Gates of Death & have returned very weak & an Old Man feeble & tottering, but not in Spirit & Life, not in The Real Man The Imagination which Liveth for Ever. In that I am stronger & stronger as this Foolish Body decays . . .

He then describes with marvelous clarity the motivation of his designs for Job, which he sees as unique because of their precision:

> . . . but since the French Revolution Englishmen are all Intermeasurable One by Another, Certainly a happy state of Agreement to which I for One do not Agree. God keep me from the Divinity of Yes & No too, The Yea Nay Creeping Jesus, from supposing Up & Down to be the same Thing. . . .

This spirit is indicated by the Nonesuch volumes, and they show clearly what even the British tolerance for their eccentric dead cannot assimilate into Westminster Abbey. At first I was a little annoyed to think that Blake would be received into the company of Dryden and Tennyson. My reaction was based quite primitively on a deep hope that there was in mankind something that no corporate entity could assimilate, something that remained outside all honors and compensations. It is this with which we find ourselves ultimately stuck, and it is the best and worst side of our existence. Eventually my annoyance was broken down, and I very happily wrote a check to the Memorial Fund, but the real monument is still the complete writings and—insofar as they are visible—the complete paintings, etchings, drawings.

November 30, 1957

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

I'M AFRAID I've seen *Time Remembered* (Morosco) too many times. I saw it in London about three years ago, then again in its present production five weeks ago during its pre-opening tour and once more on the second night. I do not mean by this that I have no opinion of it but that my various impressions have given me a peculiarly complex vision—certainly too complex for so simple a play—so that I am obliged to proceed with my comments more analytically than might otherwise be warranted.

Time Remembered is one of the more airily "pink" of Anouilh's plays. It is a

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nosegay collected from the less bitter flora in its author's hothouse. For that is one of Anouilh's talents: he is able to make sweet stuff from the same roots as produce his more acrid concoctions. In *Time Remembered,* which dates from 1939, he pokes affectionate fun at his own romanticism—his idealization of old loves and dreams—just as in several other of his plays, he flays it. *Time Remembered* is modeled on what Molière called *comédie-ballet*—a gay pirouette of knowing playfulness, gossamer light, admirably written (excellently translated by Patricia Moyes), remarkably gifted.

In London the play was done quite effortlessly and without much surprise. Paul Scofield was the melancholy prince of the fable—mournfully enveloped in the memory of a dead romance—a little limp and almost undramatic. Mary Ure as the *midinette* was simple and direct but so relaxed as the new love—the challenge of present reality—that she appeared almost dreamlike, seen through a mist. Margaret Rutherford as the "lunatic" Duchess was grotesque (Anouilh with whom I saw the play, said she was doing mad things but that he liked actresses who did mad things) and I was not sure whether her outrageousness was a contribution to the fairy tale quality of the story or a detraction.

WHEN I saw the play in New Haven and was asked my opinion of it I summed it up by saying "almost everything is a little wrong with the production but it will work—the play comes through and it will be a success." When I saw it in New York with an audience which had already read the gushing notices, the reception was cold, almost hostile. I heard people say, "What a shame to waste such a brilliant cast on so slight a play" and others, far less numerous, "The play is charming; something is wrong with the production." By this time I myself was becoming confused.

Normally I would judge *Time Remembered* a good play to produce here in some such small house as the Bijou with very simple, almost paper-weight painted scenery giving a water color effect. But if the production in London looked as if it had cost five times what it might in Paris, its New York production looks as if it cost fifty times as much. The production at the Morosco, designed by Oliver Smith, is sumptuous with the gorgeousness of a Fifth Avenue confectioners.

The Americans were out to *sell* the play in a big way. As with the physical aspect of the show, so with the cast: it is studded with great names. And since the actors are all unquestionable personalities, they do have an effect. The effect is sometimes happy and sometimes taxing. To many the total is a triumph. To others—and with such a play much depends on the kind of performance one happens to see on a particular night—the result is this side of enchantment. When I saw the production for the second time, it struck me as heavy.

Helen Hayes, neither "aristocrat" nor "French," is a kind of miracle performer whose resourcefulness in comedy is infectious. Richard Burton, robust in a part of delicately pinched wistfulness, perhaps lends it an interest for Americans which it might not otherwise have. It is a pleasure to hear his fine voice and beautiful speech. Susan Strasberg, with her lovely mask, is vivid, but her quality is essentially dramatic and the timbre of her voice, striking in itself, is as yet unvarying in range. One hopes that although already elevated to stardom she will make due progress as an actress—a very difficult thing to do in the theatre today. The most stylistically consummate performance of the evening is that of Sig Arno as the mock waiter. Amusing too are Frederic Warriner and Glenn Anders.

NOEL COWARD's *Nude with Violin* (Belasco) is really inconsequential and frequently quite funny. In his frank snobbishness, impertinent levity and *chic* vulgarity, Coward is a distinct figure whom I begin to appreciate more and more (despite the, for me, natural disinclination to do so) as one kind of antidote to conformity. He is a superb performer, a suave and witty showman whose craftmanship must not be dismissed because it is dedicated to the trivial. Like Sacha Guitry, he has a certain wickedness, but there is also a touch of genius in him.

He is helpful to his actors; he writes fat parts for them—thumbnail character sketches, part vaudeville, part shrewd observation around almost traditional stage types—of which experienced comedians can take full advantage as does most of the cast, particularly Joyce Carey, Luba Malina, Mona Washbourne and Morris Carnovsky who as an art dealer in trouble gives a hilarious imitation of a certain apoplectic director haranguing actors of the late-lamented Group Theatre.

By the way, the thread that ties *Nude with Violin* is the anti-modern art joke, but one need take this no more seriously than most other of Coward's "themes."

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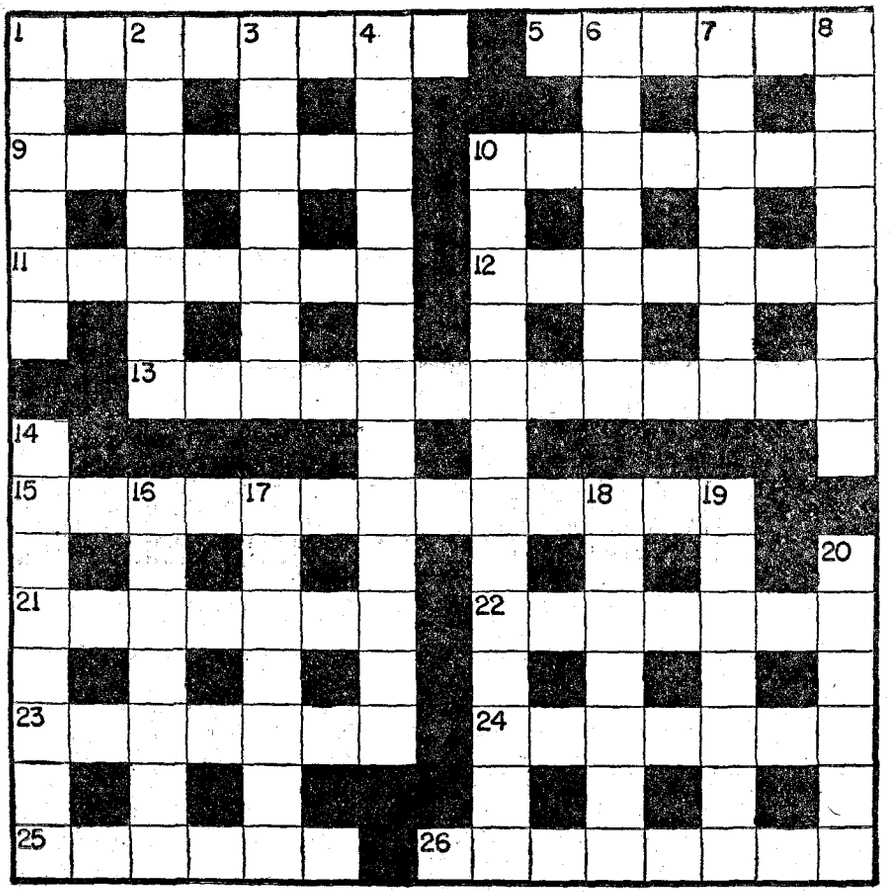
Crossword Puzzle No. 748

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Played a part with just less than a hundred being preceptive. (8)
5 Water pipes and telephones lines might be. (6)
9 Not exactly court dress which one might bring! (7)
10 Rub the wrong way, and seem awkward for a native. (7)
11 Such a mistake might be listed. (7)
12 They come up or out more or less predictably. (7)
13 A position of rectitude with a peculiar end between "p" and "r". (13)
15 Be without a platform at one state, in short, and not particularly caring! (13)
21 Get me a sedative at once, I say! (7)
22 Such a peculiar combination might give me the wrong angle. (7)
23 Associated with him, a conservative account! (7)
24 Verbs usually do to make gerunds. (7)
25 Regain possession? Think again! (6)
26 Would one consider him a fixer, with a price? (8)

DOWN:

1 This statesman is not quite the most 15. (6)
2 This might be worded softly at the end, as a condensation. (7)
3 See 20 down
4 It's nearly time, pet! Don't behave so! (13)
6 Is Cairo an unusual setting for something relatively religious? (7)
7 To be in vogue is to get the upper hand. (7)
8 Neat ones are likely to find theirs in order. (8)
10 This man blends flattery with cajolery. (13)
14 Does it make one pale to sit here? (8)
16 Petruchio complained that he was evermore (with an elision)! (7)
17 Fat, to help in a way with affectation. (7)
18 The old king is about to walk to school. (7)
19 Plants where in France they follow a fast time. (7)
20 and 3 down This might supply a measure of activity. (6, 7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 747

ACROSS: 1 DAINTILY; 8 CAROTID; 9 AUDITING; 10 PINE NUT; 12 NURSE; 13 ROOMER; 17 ENSUE; 22 ASPEN; 23 IBERIA; 24 EMERY; 26 MODERN; 29 CORONER; 30 AVERSION; 32 INVEIGHS. DOWN: 1 DIAGNOSE; 2 INDIRECT; 3 TITLE; 4 LINERS; 5 MAXIM; 6 COTERIE; 7 FIGURES; 11 NEGUIB; 16 and 31 EASY ON THE EYES; 18, 14, 15, 25 and 28 NEVER GIVE A SUCKER AN EVEN BREAK; 19 and 10 FREEZING POINT; 20 RANKINGS; 21 SMOOTHS; 22 ARMOREE; 27 DEFER; 28 BARGE.

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